

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 342 029

CS 507 722

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TITLE Religious Radio Listening among Brazil's Indians: A Question of Cultural Hegemony and Freedom.
PUB DATE Oct 91
NOTE 49p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Speech Communication Association (77th, Atlanta, GA, October 31-November 3, 1991).
PUB TYPE Speeches/Conference Papers (150) -- Reports - Research/Technical (143)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Community Education; Foreign Countries; *Indigenous Populations; *Mass Media Effects; Mass Media Role; Media Research; Programing (Broadcast); *Radio; Religion; Surveys
IDENTIFIERS *Brazil; Message Responses; *Religious Broadcasting

ABSTRACT

A study examined the religious radio listening habits of Brazil's indigenous population. Subjects, 46 linguists (under contract to the Brazilian government to educate the population) who worked with 32 different Brazilian tribes, completed a 16-item survey. Results indicated that: (1) 13-20% of adult Brazilian Indians have access to a radio; (2) these tribespeople can receive an average of over 6 hours per week of intelligible Christian radio programming, with the average tribesperson listening to about 1.5 hours per week; (3) the most popular radio format in religious programming was traditional Brazilian religious music, followed by contemporary religious music; and (4) religious programming apparently has only a small impact on the religious practices, beliefs, and lifestyles of Brazilian Indians. Findings suggest that radio in Brazil is a free marketplace of ideas rather than a hegemonic monopoly. (Twenty-two graphs and 26 tables of data are included; all written responses to the survey and 27 references are attached.) (RS)

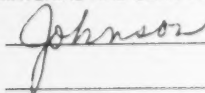
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Religious Radio Listening among Brazil's Indians:
A Question of Cultural Hegemony and Freedom

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Abstract

This study is based on survey responses from 46 linguists who work with 32 different Brazilian tribes. Their responses suggest the following:

- Thirteen to 20% of adult Brazilian Indians have access to a radio.
- These tribespeople can receive an average of over six hours per week of intelligible Christian radio programming, with the average tribesperson listening to about one and a half hours per week.
- Religious programming apparently has only a small impact on the religious practices, beliefs, and lifestyles of Brazilian Indians.

This paper examines this impact in terms of whether religious broadcasting is part of the hegemony of the mass media, or an example of the media being a free marketplace of ideas.

Introduction

Even in the most remote parts of the Brazilian jungle, one may hear the sound of religious broadcasting, as well as the world's music and news, all brought into Indian tribes by radio. What impact does the electronic media have on such indigenous people? Might religious radio broadcasting be a form of cultural imperialism, or could it be genuinely beneficial?

Until now there has been virtually no information gathered regarding the religious listening habits of these indigenous people. An extensive library search at Central Missouri State University and Arizona State University (which contain ERIC, SocioFile, and PsychLit databases) failed to reveal any literature describing the radio listening habits of Brazilian Indians. Under the broader topic of transcultural mass communication, though, there is a substantial amount of material, much of it theoretical speculation. This paper will address its survey results to two important, popular, and opposing theories.

The first perspective is that the mass media are hegemonious. This theory posits that the mass media, including radio, have an imperialistic effect on culture. Schiller states this view in *Communication and Cultural Domination*:

...the concept of cultural imperialism today best describes the sum of the processes by which a society is brought into the modern world system and how its dominating stratum is attacked, pressured, forced, and sometimes bribed into shaping social institutions to correspond to, or even promote, the values and structures of the dominating center of the system (p.9, Schiller, 1976).

Schiller continues, "What is apparent now in the United States and in other countries in the midst of sweeping technological innovation in communications is an intensification of the struggle for domination..." (p. 75, Schiller, 1976).

Another voice claiming that cross-cultural communication is inherently hegemonic is that of M. Real, who in *Mass-Mediated Culture* develops the theme that "Mass-mediated culture primarily serves the interests of the relatively small political-economic power elite that sits atop the social pyramid" (1977). Berg carries this idea of cultural imperialism into the religious realm by stating, "Indians were viewed by the earliest... settlers as unfortunate heathens in need of saving grace" (1975). Real uses the example of Billy Graham to demonstrate that the evangelical message is exclusively bound in North American culture:

Both the context and code of Graham's appeal are culture-specific. The context that he draws on and that amplifies his message is mainstream of popular Western industrial culture, its life experience, values, and symbols. His appeal is to the experience of "alienation" and its manifestations in individual lives and institutional complexities. The code that he utilizes to "solve" that alienation is traditional Christian imagery combined with contemporary American and Western ideals (p. 181, Real, 1977).

The view of mass media as hegemony, expressed by Berg, Real and Schiller, is not universally accepted. First, there is serious doubt as to the actual imperialistic effect of the media (Perry, 1987). Second, there is an alternative perspective that not only doubts the hegemony of mass media, but actually believes a medium such as radio can be an effective means of communication to, as well as among indigenous people. This alternative view is stated by James and Sharon Murphy in *Let My People Know* state:

Radio—the spoken word carried afar—blends well with the tradition of oral communication in Indian culture. Much closer than whites to a strictly oral civilization, many Indians have a greater affinity for the spoken word than for the written word. And among some of the poorer, less educated Indians in the United States, for whom becoming literate is an uphill fight at best, the spoken word often provides the only link to the outside world (p. 131, Murphy & Murphy, 1981).

An application of this idea can be seen among the indigenous Inupiat population of the North American Arctic who maintain their culture by using the media to address their own concerns (Olson, 1987). This belief that the use of the media does not compromise the identity of Indians is well stated by Jerry Elliott, an Osage who works as a NASA engineer and is promoting satellite-communications projects for Indians:

Unless you adapt to your environment, you die. I am not less an Indian because you teach me how to use a computer. Using a computer does not mean that I have to change who I am (Murphy & Murphy, p. 133).

A similar point of view is that taken by Bonnie Schomp in the *American Indian Law Review* (Summer, 1976):

The needs of Indian communities resulting primarily from a language barrier, particularly from a barrier of isolation of Indian groups on reservation areas, and from the highly specialized nature of Indian information and culture, are best satisfied by the broadcast media...

These are more than opinions; they are ideas that are being put into practice. An extensive survey conducted in 1977-78 identified about a hundred broadcasting outlets in the United States that were then offering regularly scheduled Indian-oriented programs (Murphy and Murphy, p. 134). This alternate perspective sees in mass media an entrepreneurial opportunity for the exchange of ideas, or mass media as a free market.

Which of these two bipolar views, then, is the most accurate in describing effect of radio on Indians? Is radio intrinsically imperialistic, or is it a laissez-faire market of ideas? The goal of this survey is to produce measurable answers to the question of what effect religious broadcasting has on Brazil's Indians, and in so doing to also suggest an answer to this question of hegemony versus freedom in the media.

Method

Although no one is certain of the total population of Indians in Brazil, it is estimated there are 250,000 Indians in 170 different tribes (FUNAI, 1991), nearly third of which have linguists who work under contract with the Brazilian government. A survey instrument was designed and mailed to each of the names on a list of 67 such linguists. The four-page survey instrument consisted of 16 questions, two of which were open-ended. Questionnaires were air-mailed to the complete mailing list of translators in Brazil during a period from April 1 to April 15, with responses requested by June 1. Forty-six usable responses (69%) were returned. The results were entered on Excel and tabulated on SAS and StatView.

Results

The average tribe has about 1,750 adults, with 11% being Christian believers. The number of believers has increased, but at a rate of less than 5% during the last two years. On the average, they have had contact with Christianity for about 40 years, and many of them have at least some portion of the New Testament available in their own language.

Approximately 13% to 20% of adult Indians have access to radios, although many tribes have no radios at all. On the average, understandable, evangelical radio programming is receivable six hours a week. Although half or more of the tribes can receive no such programming, there are also three tribes which have local Indian-produced programming.

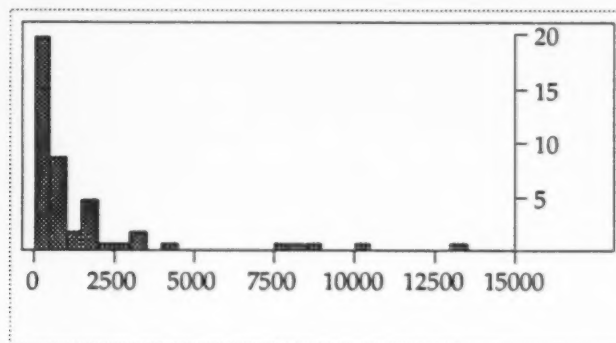
The most popular radio format in religious programming is traditional Brazilian religious music; next are contemporary religious music and traditional American/European religious music. The least popular are sermon messages and discussion/talk shows. The religious programming is significantly more popular with believers, whereas the non-believers are indifferent to it. Overall, religious programming has a slight effect on the religious beliefs and practices, and on the lifestyle of these Indians. The more that religious radio is listened to, the greater its impact.

Most of the programming comes from within Brazil, although HCJB in Ecuador and Trans-World Radio from Bon Aire were the two most frequently cited sources of programming.

The majority (37 comments) of the linguists wrote that a limited knowledge of Portuguese (the national language of Brazil) was the greatest hindrance to Indians understanding religious broadcasts. The next most common (24 comments) was that the Indians have the radio on more as background noise than for information. Thirteen comments were made about limited resources, such as the high cost of batteries and difficulty of getting radios repaired. While there were nine comments suggesting the ineffectiveness of religious broadcasting, there were also four who said radio was important, and nine comments about how popular a program in the Indians' own language would be.

Below are the statistical presentations of the responses to individual questions:

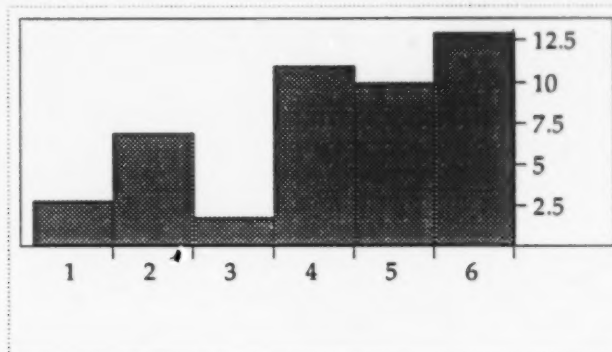
1. Approximately how many adults are in your tribe? (please fill in the amount.)



Quantiles		
maximum	100.0%	13000
quartile	75.0%	1712
median	50.0%	500
quartile	25.0%	192
minimum	0.0%	35

Moments	
Mean	1758.065
Std Dev	2916.718
Std Err Mean	430.047
upper 95% Mean	2624.221
lower 95% Mean	891.910
N	46.000

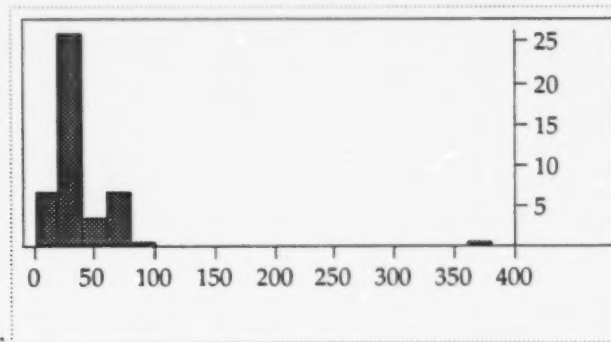
2. How far along are you with your translation work? (Please check the one most appropriate line.)



(Frequency
of responses)

- | | |
|----|---|
| 3 | #1. The work has just begun. |
| 7 | #2. Some stories and primers have been made. |
| 3 | #3. The Life of Christ has been translated. |
| 11 | #4. Some portions of scripture have been printed. |
| 10 | #5. The New Testament is being checked, or is nearly completed. |
| 13 | #6. The New Testament is completed. |

3. For how many years now has your tribe had some contact with Christianity, either through you, other missionaries, religious radio, or other means? (Please write the number of years.)



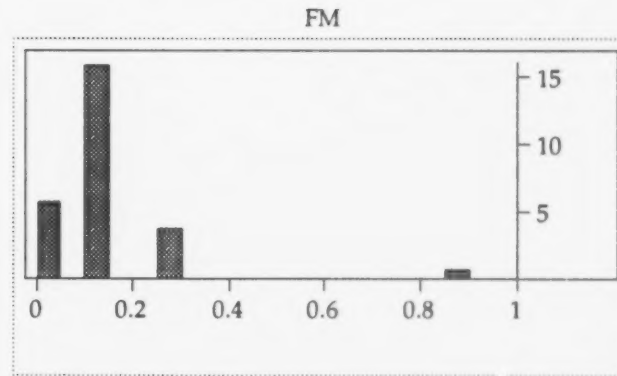
Quantiles		
maximum	100.0%	360.00
quartile	75.0%	50.00
median	50.0%	30.00
quartile	25.0%	23.00
minimum	0.0%	0.00

Moments	
Mean	40.82609
Std Dev	51.87691
Std Err Mean	7.64883
upper 95% Mean	56.23158
lower 95% Mean	25.42060
N	46.00000

4. Approximately what percent of the people in your tribe do you believe have regular or daily access to an FM, AM (medium wave), and shortwave radio? (Please put a check on the appropriate line to the right of each radio type.)

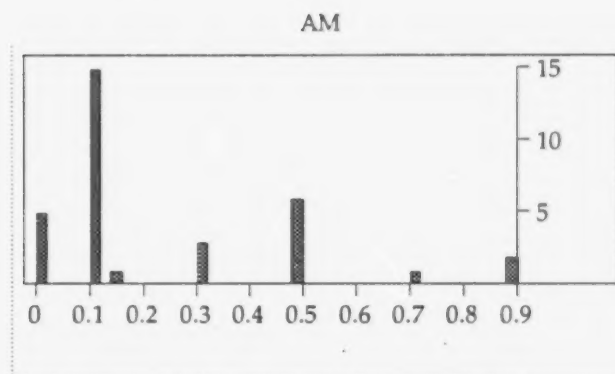
(Frequencies)

	0-19%	20-39%	40-59%	60-79%	80-100%
FM					
Radio	21	4	0	0	1
AM					
Radio	19	3	6	1	2
Shortwave					
Radio	23	3	6	0	1



Quantiles		
maximum	100.0%	0.90000
quartile	75.0%	0.10000
median	50.0%	0.10000
quartile	25.0%	0.10000
minimum	0.0%	0.00000

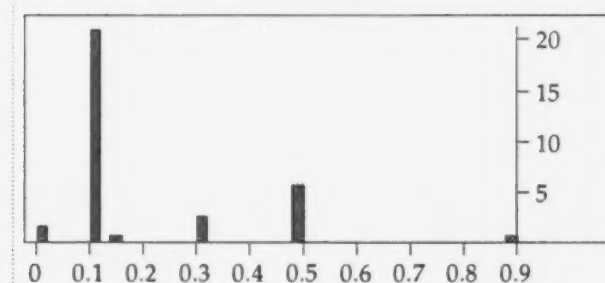
Moments	
Mean	0.13704
Std Dev	0.17791
Std Err Mean	0.03424
upper 95% Mean	0.20742
lower 95% Mean	0.06666
N	27.00000



Quantiles		
maximum	100.0%	0.90000
quartile	75.0%	0.50000
median	50.0%	0.10000
quartile	25.0%	0.10000
minimum	0.0%	0.00000

Moments	
Mean	0.24394
Std Dev	0.25549
Std Err Mean	0.04447
upper 95% Mean	0.33453
lower 95% Mean	0.15335
N	33.00000

Shortwave



Quantiles

maximum	100.0%	0.90000
quartile	75.0%	0.30000
median	50.0%	0.10000
quartile	25.0%	0.10000
minimum	0.0%	0.00000

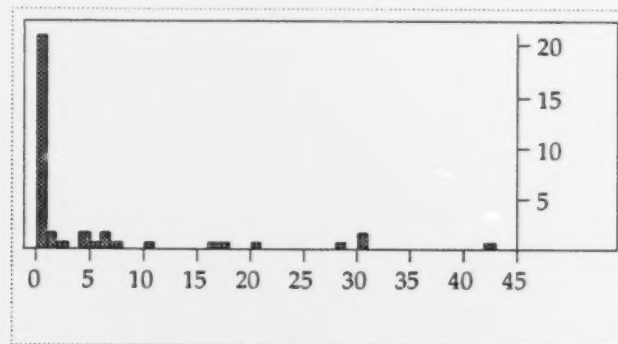
Moments

Mean	0.20765
Std Dev	0.20201
Std Err Mean	0.03464
upper 95% Mean	0.27813
lower 95% Mean	0.13716
N	34.00000

Correlations

Variable	FM	AM	SW
FM	1.0000	0.8153	0.2705
AM	0.8153	1.0000	0.4129
SW	0.2705	0.4129	1.0000

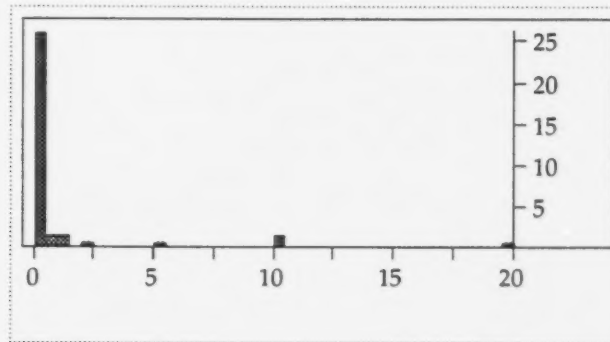
5. Approximately how many hours per week is evangelical radio programming receivable there in a language understandable to your tribe? (Please write the number of hours.)



Quantiles		
maximum	100.0%	42.000
quartile	75.0%	6.250
median	50.0%	0.000
quartile	25.0%	0.000
minimum	0.0%	0.000

Moments	
Mean	6.03947
Std Dev	10.66466
Std Err Mean	1.73004
upper 95% Mean	9.54484
lower 95% Mean	2.53411
N	38.00000

6. Approximately how many hours per week does your tribe spend listening to such evangelical radio programming? (Please write the number of hours.)

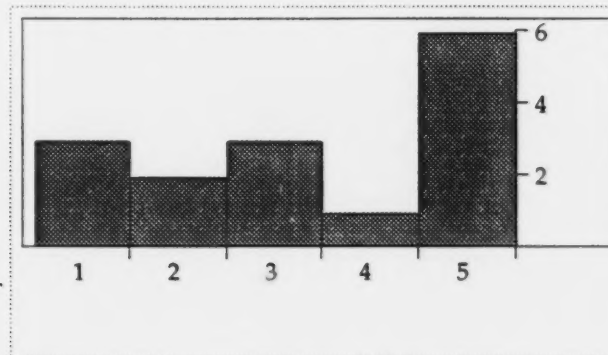


Quantiles		
maximum	100.0%	20.000
quartile	75.0%	0.500
median	50.0%	0.000
quartile	25.0%	0.000
minimum	0.0%	0.000

Moments	
Mean	1.44143
Std Dev	4.05435
Std Err Mean	0.68531
upper 95% Mean	2.83414
lower 95% Mean	0.04872
N	35.00000

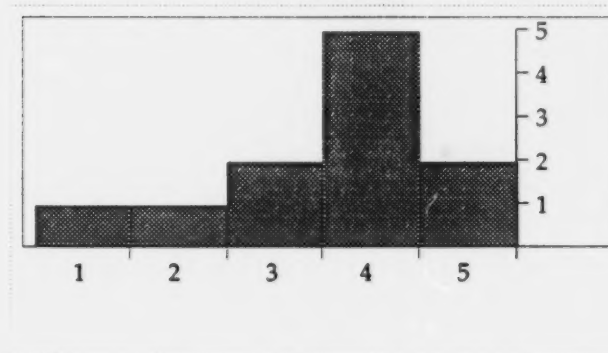
7. Please rank the popularity of the following formats of evangelical programming. (1=most popular, 5=least popular, leave blank = unavailable.)

Sermons



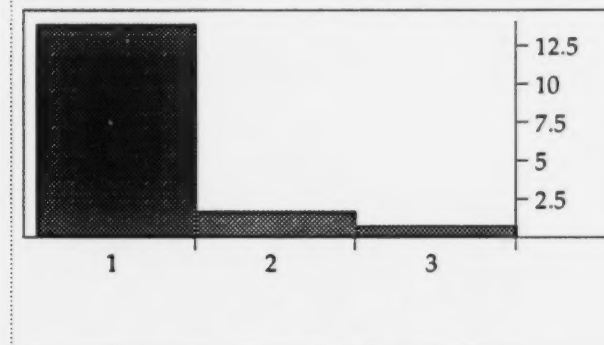
Level	Count
1 most popular	3
2	2
3	3
4	1
5 least popular	6

Talk shows



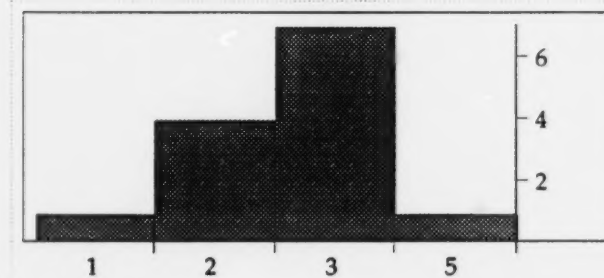
Level	Count
1 most popular	1
2	1
3	2
4	5
5 least popular	2

Traditional. Brazilian. Rel. Music



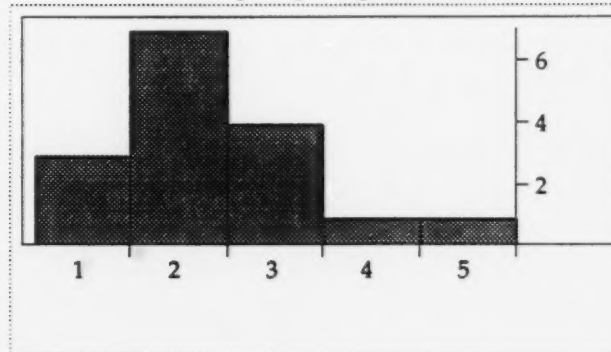
Level	Count
1 most popular	14
2	2
3	1
4	0
5 least popular	0

Traditional. Am./Euro. Rel. Music



Level	Count
1 most popular	1
2	4
3	7
4	0
5 least popular	1

Contemporary Religious Music



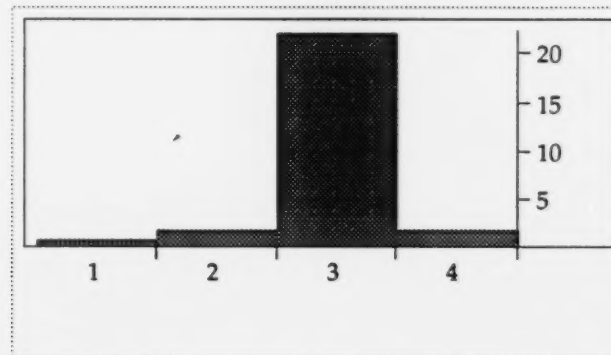
Level	Count
1 most popular	3
2	7
3	4
4	1
5 least popular	1

Correlations

Variable	Sermons	Talk shows	Trd. Brzl.	Trd. Am./Eu.	Contemporary
Sermons	1.0000	0.7788	0.3621	-0.5318	-0.5255
Talk shows	0.7788	1.0000	0.6363	0.0000	-0.0256
Brzl Music	0.3621	0.6363	1.0000	0.0000	-0.0620
Am./Euro.	-0.5318	0.0000	0.0000	1.0000	0.5123
Contemp.	-0.5255	-0.0256	-0.0620	0.5123	1.0000

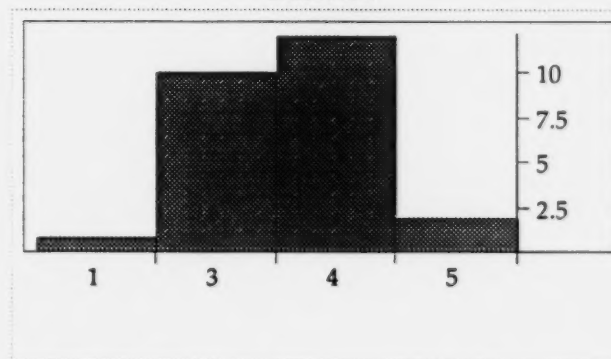
8. How popular do you feel evangelical radio programs are with non-believers and believers?
(Please put a check on the appropriate lines.)

Non-believers

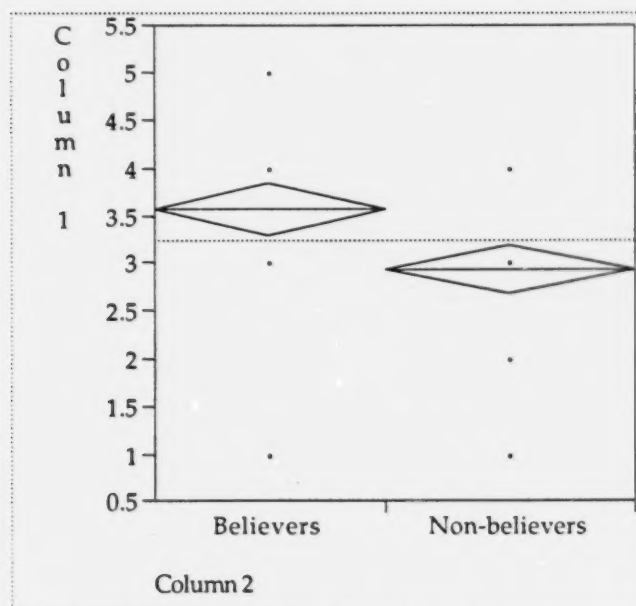


Level	Count
1 Extremely unpopular	1
2 Unpopular	2
3 Indifferent	22
4 Popular	2
5 Extremely popular	0

Believers



Level	Count
1 Extremely unpopular	1
2 Unpopular	0
3 Indifferent	10
4 Popular	12
5 Extremely popular	2



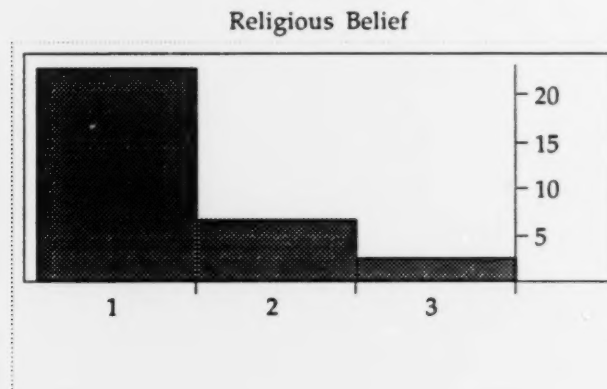
Means with 95% confid.interval

Means

t-Test	DF	Prob> t
3.29657063	50	0.0018

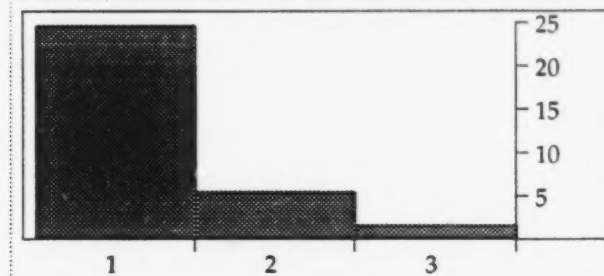
Level	Mean Estimates		
	number	Mean	Std Error
Believers	25	3.56000	0.13860
Non-believers	27	2.92593	0.13337

9. How would you rate the overall impact of evangelical radio on the religious beliefs, religious practices, and lifestyle of the your tribe? (Please put a check on the appropriate lines.)



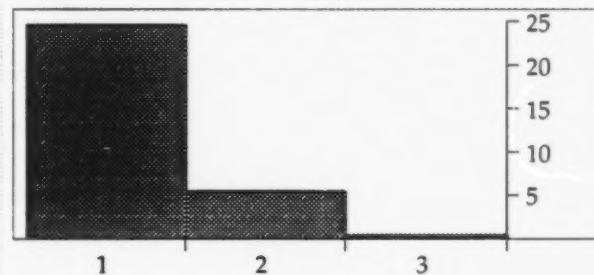
Level	Count
1 No, or slight effect	23
2 Small effect	7
3 Some effect	3
4 Large effect	0
5 Very great effect	0

Religious Practice

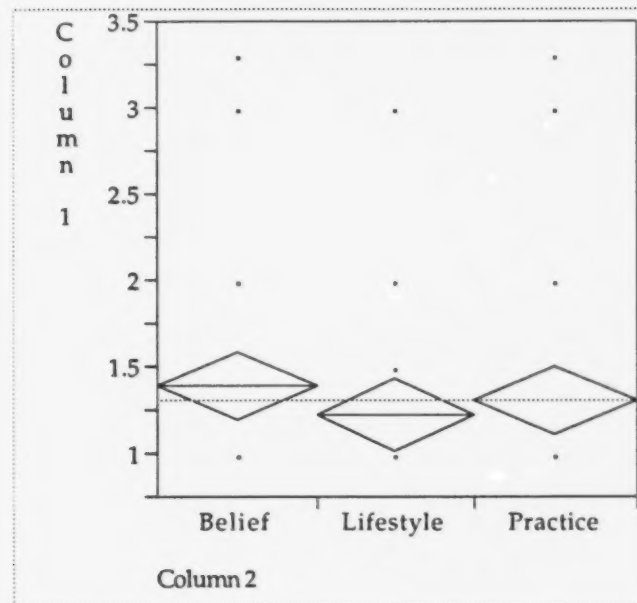


Level	Count
1 No, or slight effect	25
2 Small effect	6
3 Some effect	2
4 Large effect	0
5 Very great effect	0

Lifestyle



Level	Count
1 No, or slight effect	25
2 Small effect	6
3 Some effect	1
4 Large effect	0
5 Very great effect	0



Means with 95% confid.interval

Means

Analysis of Variance				
Source	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F Ratio
Model	2	0.463474	0.231737	0.6382
Error	95	34.497036	0.363127	Prob > F
C Total	97	34.960510		0.5305

Mean Estimates			
Level	number	Mean	Std Error
Belief	33	1.40303	0.10490
Lifestyle	32	1.23438	0.10653
Practice	33	1.31212	0.10490

10. Please feel free to add here any comments you feel might be important.

(The full list of written responses is found in the appendix.)

11. What is the origin of the evangelical radio programming to which most of your language group listens? (Check as many responses as you feel appropriate)

Level	Count
1 Locally produced by Indians	3
1 Locally produced by Brazilian	4
1 Regionally produced	9
1 Produced within Brazil	16
1 Produced in Ecuador	12
1 Prod. elsewhere in Latin Am.	8
1 Produced in U.S.	2
1 Produced elsewhere	1

12. Who produces the evangelical radio programming to which most of your language group listens?

(Frequencies)

- | | |
|----|---|
| 4 | A. A denomination produces it. If so, which?
Aruak: "Assembly of God." |
| 12 | B. An evangelistic or mission organization produces it. If so, which?
Arawá: HCJB and Trans-World Radio
Maku: Trans-World Radio
Tupi-Guarani: HCJB and Trans-World Radio
Tupi-Guarani: Trans-World Radio
Aruak: TWR and Voice of the Andes |
| 0 | C. A single church produces it. If so, which? |
| 0 | D. An individual produces it. If so, by whom? |
| 1 | E. Other |

13. What is the name of what you believe to be the one most popular evangelical radio program?

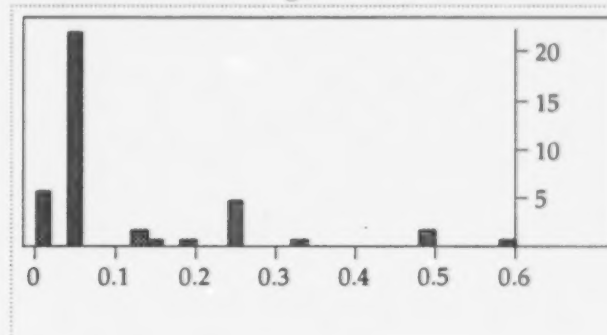
(The full list of written responses is found in the appendix.)

14. Of your language group, approximately how many people would you estimate are Christian believers?

(Frequencies)

- 6 A. There are virtually no believers in my language group.
- 25 B. Very few—10% or less.
- 6 C. About a quarter of the people are believers.
- 3 D. About half of the people are believers.
- 0 E. About three-quarters of the people are believers.
- 0 F. Virtually everyone—90% or more are believers.

Percentage of Believers



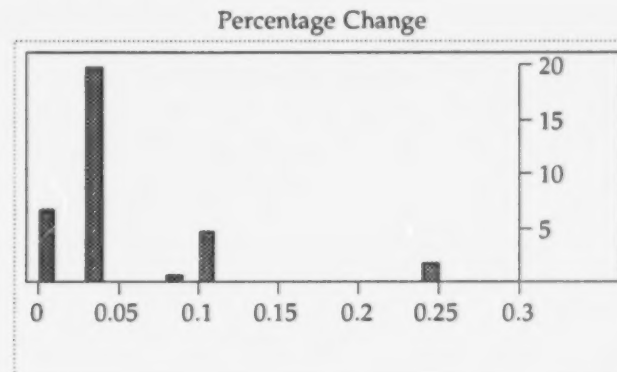
Quantiles		
maximum	100.0%	0.60000
quartile	75.0%	0.16500
median	50.0%	0.05000
quartile	25.0%	0.05000
minimum	0.0%	0.00000

Moments	
Mean	0.11878
Std Dev	0.14549
Std Err Mean	0.02272
upper 95% Mean	0.16470
lower 95% Mean	0.07286
N	41.00000

15. How has the number of believers changed in the last two years? [20]

(Frequencies)

- 2 A. The number of believers is growing dramatically—25% or more.
- 5 B. The number of believers is growing noticeably—about 10%.
- 19 C. The number of believers is growing slightly—less than 5%.
- 7 D. The number of believers is stable.
- 0 E. The number of believers is decreasing slightly—less than 5%.
- 0 F. The number of believers is decreasing noticeably—about 10%.
- 0 G. The number of believers is decreasing dramatically—25% or more.



Quantiles		
maximum	100.0%	0.25000
quartile	75.0%	0.03000
median	50.0%	0.03000
quartile	25.0%	0.03000
minimum	0.0%	0.00000

Moments	
Mean	0.04800
Std Dev	0.05910
Std Err Mean	0.00999
upper 95% Mean	0.06830
lower 95% Mean	0.02770
N	35.00000

16. What would you tell a communications scholar about the significance (or lack thereof) of religious radio among your tribe?

Below is a summary of the frequency with which the most common written responses were made. (The full written responses are in the appendix.)

Needed in their own language	Limited Portuguese knowledge	Radio is important	Radio ineffective (only entertain)	Music, Background, Always on	Limited Resource (batteries, price)
9	37	5	9	24	13

Discussion

The electronic medium of radio does have an impact on Brazil's Indians. Of the 46 completed questionnaires returned, 22 indicated 20% to 59% of those tribes' Indians had access to radios; another five indicated 60% to 100% had access to radios in those tribes. Religious radio has less impact than it might appear, though, since half or more of the tribes cannot receive religious programs in a language they can understand. Even so, the average tribe receives six hours per week of understandable religious programming, with one tribe receiving over 40 hours.

Religious programming is listened to, but it is not dominant. The average amount of time spent by Brazilian Indians listening to religious radio is only an hour and a half per week. Religious radio offers an alternative content to secular broadcasting. This alternative programming is selected by Brazilian Indians, but not to the exclusion of other content.

The plurality in listening patterns of Brazilian Indians is evident by the correlations of the popularity of different formats. Traditional Brazilian and contemporary religious music are quite different, yet they are the two most popular formats; and those who prefer sermons dislike contemporary religious music. These results show a variety of preferences, not a monolithic dominance in the media.

Non-believers are indifferent to religious broadcasting, whereas believers are significantly more likely to find it popular. This agrees with Martin Marty's comment that "the media are essentially confirming and reinforcing agencies."

Although radio does have some effect on the lifestyle, religious beliefs and practices of Brazil's Indians, it is tiny in comparison to the numbers for whom it has no impact.

No one source of religious broadcasting is dominant. The majority of the programming is produced within Brazil, much within the region in which the Brazilian Indians live—even some is produced by the Indians themselves—yet a substantial amount is produced elsewhere in Latin America. Only a small amount is produced outside Latin America.

Programming comes from a variety of organizational as well as geographic origins, with TransWorld Radio and HCJB being two popular sources. Obviously, this type of diversity in sources and programming, by its very nature, prevents imperialism.

With Brazilian Indians creating their own programs, freedom is expanded to an active role in broadcasting, beyond the passive role of them being only free to select to which broadcast they wished to listen.

Why is it that radio seems to be such a free marketplace of ideas rather than a hegemonic monopoly? Milton Friedman says that nothing could do as much to assure effective competition

as the elimination of all barriers to international trade. "A monopoly can seldom be established within a country without overt and covert government assistance in the form of tariff or some other device. It is close to impossible to do on a world scale" (Friedman, p. 53). It is virtually impossible to place a barrier around radio. An example of the effectiveness of radio as a free marketplace of ideas is the impact Voice of America, Radio Liberty, and the B.B.C. had on keeping the Russian people informed of the recent Soviet coup.

I am sure than Berg, Real and Schiller all have benevolent motives behind their concern of the possibility of hegemony in mass media, just as the Roman Catholic Church was genuinely concerned for the welfare of its members when it established its imprimatur as a way of regulating the press. It was in reaction to such licensing in England that John Milton wrote his *Aeropagitica*, from which a few excerpts follow:

Who kills a man kills a reasonable creature, God's image; but he who destroys a good book, kills reason itself, kills the image of God, as it were in the eye. 'Tis true, no age can restore a life, whereof perhaps there is no great loss; and revolutions of ages do not oft recover the loss of a rejected truth, for the want of which whole nations fare the worse. (p.384)

For books are as meats; some of good, some of evil substance; and yet God, in that unapocryphal vision, said without exception, Rise, Peter, kill and eat, leaving the choice to each man's discretion. I conceive, therefore, that when God did enlarge the universal diet of man's body, saving ever the rules of temperance, He then also, as before, left arbitrary the dieting and repasting of our minds; as wherein every mature man might have to exercise his own leading capacity. (pp. 389-90)

When God gave him reason, He gave him freedom to choose, for reason is but choosing... Why should we then affect a rigour contrary to the manner of God and nature, by abridging or scanting those means, which books freely permitted are, both to the trial of virtue and the exercise of truth? (pp. 394-5)

In the midst of Cromwell's Puritanism, John Milton wrote confidently in favor of the benefit of a free exchange of ideas in the media of his day. This belief in freedom is confirmed by the results of this survey that suggests people, even those who live as simply as the Brazilian Indians, can discern what messages they wish to receive from the electronic medium. The results of this paper, therefore, support the view that the electronic media are a free marketplace of ideas, and oppose the idea that the mass media are hegemonic.

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Appendix

Below are all the written responses to the survey. The results are listed by the language group of the tribes in which the linguists are working.

4. Approximately what percent of the people in the your tribe do you believe have regular or daily access to an FM, AM (medium wave), and shortwave radio? (Please put a check on the appropriate line to the right of each radio type.)

Tupi-Guarani: "They play the radio non-stop, until the batteries wear out, then discard the radio."

(Isolated): "They turn the radio loud for the whole village to hear."

5. Approximately how many hours per week is evangelical radio programming receivable there in a language understandable to your tribe? (Please write the number of hours.)

(Isolated): "None, however 1 or 2 people do speak Portuguese well enough that they could make some sense out of a Portuguese broadcast."

Tupi-Guarani: "I don't know how many hours of Portuguese are put on by HCJB or Trans-World Radio and how many could understand a fair amount of the Portuguese."

Maku: "Thirty hours per week to 10% of the tribe."

Tupi-Guarani: "I believe that few if any would understand evangelical teaching on the radio in Portuguese."

Aruak: "We really are not able to answer this. We know there are programs from down south—Curitiba—but who gets them or listens we don't know. There is a local FM radio station in the nearest village begun by an Indian boy. There is programming 12 hours a day, when there is electricity, which often fails. There was 30 minutes bought on Saturdays to have Bible portions read in the Indian language for the Sunday school lesson."

Aruak: "In Portuguese, which is only partially understood by roughly 40% of the adults. Abstract concepts are almost always misunderstood, or reinterpreted."

Aruak: "HCJB and Trans-World Radio, possibly some from Brazilian cities. Many of them do not understand Portuguese well at all."

Arawá: "I have no idea. But programmes can easily be picked up from HCJB and Trans-World Radio as well as other places from within Brazil."

Macro-Gê: "But their understanding of Portuguese is very limited."

(Isolated): "To my knowledge there are no Christian (evangelical) radio stations in range of this tribe. They live in the fairly remote interior. A few have FM radios, and listen to secular stations for music and soccer games (mostly the young people)."

Maku: "Only a couple in our village would be able to even partially understand the Portuguese if they listen. Nothing is available in their own language."

Macro-Gê: "Only in Portuguese. Therefore only understood to those who are bilingual."

6. Approximately how many hours per week does the average person in your tribe spend listening to such evangelical radio programming? (Please write the number of hours.)

(Isolated): "My observation was they preferred music to voice as 'they could understand that'—they stayed away from the religious programs and opted for the interior music programs with 'noticas' of the region."

Aruak: "People have the local station on all day—it's always there at least as background noise/music."

Tupi-Guarani: "Two hours for believers."

Arawá: "Only a very few households possess a radio."

Maku: "Sometimes they do tune into evangelical broadcasts, but the level of understanding could be almost nil."

Aruak: "Some listen whether they understand or not. Also depends on the availability of batteries. When they don't have batteries they don't listen at all. Batteries are expensive for them."

7. Please rank the popularity of the following formats of evangelical programming? (1=most popular, 5=least popular, leave blank = unavailable.)

(Isolated): "They can't tell whether the music is Christian or secular. Irrelevant."

Tupi-Guarani: "They wouldn't know any of the words on any radio. Their language is their only means of communication."

Aruak: "They tend to listen to music, be it what it is. Most popular is country western."

Arawá: "I don't know the answer to this. They like music but don't get too much out of sermons in Portuguese."

Aruak: "Much depends on individual likes and dislikes. Some like to hear sermons and light chat, music mixed in. Music is tops."

8. How popular do you feel evangelical radio programs are with non-believers and believers? (Please put a check on the appropriate lines.)

Tupi-Guarani: "There are no believers. They don't even know the name of Jesus."

Aruak: "There are no believers. If they happen to listen, it's just to have the radio on. (Two or three men have radios.)"

10. Please feel free to add here any comments you feel might be important.

Nambikuara: "I don't know of any [Indian] who owns a radio..."

Karib: "The Karib have a few programs in Portuguese but this tribe generally doesn't listen."

Macro-Gê: "This tribe speaks Portuguese. When listening to radio they listen to 'caipira' or a type of country music. I have never heard that they listen to religious broadcasts...."

(Isolated): "By and large this tribe does not speak Portuguese so Brazilian evangelical programs are completely lost on them. There was at one time a weekly broadcast by Trans-World radio in their language at some unearthly hour of the morning to which the Christians, at least some of them, listened."

Tupi-Guarani: "They seem to respond best to taped messages. Some have tape recorders and replace the batteries in these."

(Isolated): "The people are mostly monolingual."

Aruak: "Approximately three men understand enough French or Portuguese to get the gist of evangelical messages. They pass these along to the other believers during church service [in the tribal language]. Outside civilization has been putting great pressure on [these people] in the last 15 years. We are grateful for Christian influence via radio that helps offset this. It is good for them to know that there are lots of Christians out there, besides the few they know personally."

Tupi-Guarani: "Radio can only reach people who have [the] Bible in their own language. Radio only can reach people who speak the language that the radio is speaking."

Maku: "Quite limited understanding of everyday Portuguese—possibly 25%. Very limited understanding of radio broadcast level Portuguese—possibly less than 5%."

Kadiweu: "Portuguese is their trade language."

Aruak: "Except for the local FM station, the other programs available are in Portuguese or Spanish—messages for many in Portuguese do not hit home—little understood. Music always appeals and draws interest."

Aruak: "These people are moved by fear, of known, or unknown dangers or powers."

Tupi-Guarani: "I am not aware that unbelievers listen—believers recognize hymns and listen—understanding is limited."

Tupi-Guarani: "Radios and batteries are expensive, and these people are poor. Religious broadcasting is of uneven quality."

Arawá: "Those with radios often listen to early broadcasts (4 and 5 am) and if they happen to be around at other times."

Tupi-Guarani: In a village of 130 people, there is only one radio used mainly to listen to news.

Macro-Gê: "I lived with this tribe in one village for one year so my knowledge is limited to observations in mainly one household where they would listen to radio at night—mainly music. I doubt they would discriminate between a secular or religious broadcast. Young men listen to Portuguese for language learning purposes."

(Isolated): "They are largely monolingualistic, so those that do listen to radio understand less than 50%."

Kadiweu: "Radio listening is often just left to play; radios often break down—the nearest repairshop is 2 to 3 hours away by car—one electricity in village—plus the need for batteries that are not always available."

(Isolated): "The few who have radios keep them on much of the time. I know of no evangelical programs in our area, and their knowledge of Portuguese is such that they wouldn't understand much of it at all."

Tupi-Guarani: "Music has the greatest influence. Probably less than 10% have any access to a radio—too expensive. Two TV sets are available in the reserve (where they choose the program) used mainly for news."

Aruak: "Since they are largely monolingual and most have no radios, and no believers, radio has little import here, however, for those Brazilians living out at the river, there is much more contact with radio."

Aruak: "These people are scattered over more than 1,000 miles or river. We do not have contact with many of them. How much radio affects them we have very little idea. But most interior Brazilians as well as Indians listen to the radio early in the morning 4-6 am, (midday) to catch the local news of people travelling to the village, at night 7-8 or 9 at night. They do not listen at other times. The morning and evening hours are always religious."

(Isolated): "This tribe is in the mountainous terrain and can't get FM or AM except at some high points of the reservation."

Macro-Gê: "Since there is no broadcasting in this language, the cultural differences between the national non-Indian and Indian world views and life-styles make messages in Portuguese fairly irrelevant, even to the many who speak Portuguese better than they speak their Indian language. Only music is tuned in."

Macro-Gê: "You have no hope. You don't speak the native language."

Tupi-Guarani: "The Tupi-Guarani are heavily influenced by Catholics and anthropologists. The small Tupi-Guarani's church are in an area where few understand Portuguese and few have radios."

(Isolated): "Very few understand any Portuguese other than trade connected. Very few have batteries even if they have radios."

Arawá: "This information looks blank but the reason is that the Arawá basically speak only their own language. The gospel is preached regularly on the radio stations available here but only in Portuguese or Spanish, which they cannot understand."

Tupi-Guarani: "Most Tupi-Guarani understand very little Portuguese, and there are no programs available in Tupi-Guarani. They love music, so might listen to evangelical music on the radio. I don't know if they do. I haven't spent any more than a couple days in the tribe over the last two years."

11. What is the origin of the evangelical radio programming to which most of your language group listens? (Check as many responses as you feel appropriate)

(Isolated): "I have heard programs in Portuguese and once in English in the village, but it's irrelevant to our [monolingualistic] situation."

Aruak: "Trans-World Radio once had a half-hour program featuring Christian music from this tribe. This was a real hit in the tribe."

Aruak: "Local programs reach only a small percentage of the tribe. A few at least listen to Trans-World Radio."

Tupi-Guarani: (for #H) "Paraguay and Chile."

Aruak: "Voice of the Andes."

Arawá: "They enjoy listening to music but they do not usually understand the words."

13. What is the name of what you believe to be the one most popular evangelical radio program?

Arawá: "I don't think people here make much distinction between different programs."

Tupi-Guarani: "We lived 30 years in another tribe. They have slowly bought recorders from Gospel Records. Some of these have radios on them. No FM or AM ever comes in

here. They sometimes get Trans-World Radio at 4 am. They like the music because it is beautiful at that hour. There is a satellite over the Amazon reaching backwood Brazilians by the hundreds. The Indians like for me to tell them what is being said for it agrees with the Bible in their language, and they feel part of the total body of Christ this way. Some of our preachers in the 10 churches there say we should preach like these men on the radio for they preach like our chiefs talk with authority. One of the best speakers of Portuguese whose father was a Brazilian said, 'I don't know what they are saying, but God knows.' It's a wonderful thing when radio is in our mother tongue, but otherwise it's just zero."

Tupi-Guarani: "I don't know any."

Maku: "One program? Don't really have any basis—they enjoy music."

Kadiweu: "Don't know. Possibly HCJB."

Aruak: Marubi is an Evangelical station in Curitiba which everyone can get. Most of the programs are Pentecostal. Our [Indian language helper] said he only turns the radio on when he wants to listen to something but he thinks lots have it on most of the time they are home. Music is a big item. He listens to preaching but doesn't know about others. He thinks most listen to the music of the local FM station. Music is a big thing. He hears HCJB at times and has heard TWR but is too early."

Tupi-Guarani: "I don't know—they tell me what the message was about but I don't know what program [it] is."

(Isolated): "HCJB"

Aruak: "Unless gospel radio programs are now catching on you hardly say they are popular, not that they are against them."

Tupi-Guarani: "I don't know."

Arawá: "Don't know—they like programmes for children."

Macro-Gê: "I have no idea."

Karib: "I have no idea what any of the Indians listen to in the other villages. In our small village of 25-30 people (15-20 adults) one family listens to the radio some. They are believers or at least interested, but I don't know what evangelical stations they listen to."

Tupi-Guarani: "Unknown."

Kadiweu: "Voice of the Andes. I am sorry this is not any better, but I am very sick and find it hard to concentrate."

Tupi-Guarani: "One of the Pentecostal groups has a station in Parana with gospel music about 16 hours a day. Bible study, music, and comments. I always get reactions even from people I don't know when I've been on a program in the Indians' own language."

Aruak: "Music, music, music about 4 am."

Macro-Gê: "Unknown."

14. Of your language group, approximately how many people would you estimate are Christian believers?

Tupi-Guarani: "My definition of Christian means having consciously accepted Christ as Savior and made a change that makes others say they are Christian. 25% to 40% may attend church once in awhile, but understanding is minimal as most work is done in national language and without knowledge of culture."

Aruak: "Where we work in 20 villages nearly half (possibly more) but we are not in contact with most of the tribe."

Jamamaji: "Most of those in this village are new believers but none or almost none in the other villages."

Tupi-Guarani: "Only had our first few people come to the Lord beginning of this year. Had one before, now anywhere between 18 and 40—some reported, others we know about personally. A few children 9 years and up are included. The children are usually more interested than many adults.

16. What would you tell a communications scholar about the significance (or lack thereof) of religious radio among the your tribe?

Arawá: "The information I got from an Indian I knew listens frequently to Christian radio programs and he knows other people's habits too. Religious radio programs play an important role in the life of [Indian] believers. They listen almost only to this type of program. There is probably not always full attention paid to what is preached. Sometimes people refer to what a preacher has said or they learn songs but often the radio gives only a nice "background sound" during leisure time. The one big problem is the high price of radios and batteries. One man said to me, 'If we have batteries we listen to all the programs (i.e. 2 hours in the morning, 2 hrs. in the afternoon, and 2 hours in the evening). 'If we have...' is the problem."

(Isolated): "The culture is such that radio is not yet very popular. The initial cost (batteries, repair) make it difficult. If something was in their language they would certainly listen to it. As a minority group they have been told their language is of little or no value."

Nambikuara: "Any programs reaching them [this tribe] would be understood by the young adult men who have a basic knowledge of the national language. Women, children, and the present elderly would not understand Portuguese. Music does play a vital role in their culture and they do enjoy traditional Brazilian or American/European religious music. They hear this in churches in town... Some missionaries taught them hymns and choruses—they still remember these—especially the tunes but the words are often forgotten as a jumble of unrecognizable words."

Karib: "The young people have radios in their houses and it is mostly music or soccer games. But it is not a part of their religious - tribal life. The radio is very important for interior Brazilian Christians who are far away from a church."

Macro-Gê: "These Indians listen to popular music—the young people enjoy it. I don't think its appeal is cognitive."

Macro-Gê: "The only case of [one of these Indians] listening to religious broadcasting that I know of is a Christian who told me one of his first contacts with the gospel was listening to a preacher talk about the peace that God gives. He couldn't understand it all but after many years of searching he found the Lord and is a faithful believer to this day. This kind of isolated instance is currently the only effect evangelical radio has among these people."

(Isolated): "I would like to see Christian [Indian] programs at a good hour (e.g. 7-10 p.m.) at a station that is easy to find. The Trans-World station is easy to miss by a fraction of an inch."

Tupi-Guarani: "At the present, taped materials seem the best way to go."

(Isolated): "Religious radio has virtually no effect on monolingual groups in a minority language."

Aruak: "Programs in very simple Portuguese or French would be understood and appreciated by many people here. They especially like simple illustrations of Bible truth from jungle culture and dramatizations of Bible or missionary stories. Items that are not too far out of their culture, that they can relate to, are very often shared during their frequent church services and discussed throughout the day. A politician, wanting votes, donated a TV to the tribe. Now that they have electricity a few hours each night, they are thinking of getting a video so they watch Christian videos (like the Jesus film). They don't like the violence and sex on ordinary TV."

Tupi-Guarani: "Sometimes Trans-World Radio plays gospel records in their language and the Indians feel they are remembered worldwide! The Holy Spirit speaks the

mother tongue of people. When people listen in a foreign language to the good news they think Jesus is a foreigner."

Tupi-Guarani: "Their interest seems to be in listening to soccer games, popular music, maybe local news. With little interest in Christianity (and much in materialism) probably the most likely to catch their attention would be catchy music."

Maku: "Lack of significance due largely to very limited understanding of Portuguese. Nothing available in this language and know of no possibility in foreseeable future."

Kadiweu: "That its evangelization impact is very slight—they probably listen mainly for music."

Tupi-Guarani: "They were first contacted in 1969. Although they have taken on many things and customs from the outside world, religious radio has not been one of them, at least not yet."

Aruak: "People listen and enjoy the music but I'm not sure how much they get of the message unless they hear the same song various times. I think the average person 40 and over probably gets very little out of messages. But quite a lot of young people and children are stopping speaking their Indian language. They tend to have the radio on rather constantly for background effect. I don't think they make a point to listen to a certain program at a certain time and then turn it off. Where we used to live one man regularly listened to Trans-World Radio at 4:30 am and it was worth it to him.... Most Saturday afternoons and all day Sunday we are in the village. We hear radios on but we haven't done a survey."

Aruak: "Religious broadcasting in Portuguese will not reach these people, and there is no point in producing radio broadcasts in a language spoken by so few people (± 70). Several tape players, with vernacular recordings, will easily fill any gap in "readership" of written materials. Specifically, these people are a very secluded group, with limited trade relationships with a few Brazilian families and individuals. They are nearly monolingual and therefore remain unreached by Christian Broadcasting in Portuguese."

Tupi-Guarani: "Their understanding of Portuguese is so limited that there isn't a lot of understanding. The programs seem geared to those who know 'religious terms' so are difficult for those who are not of the 'in' group. They basically enjoy the music and understand some things which remind them of what they have learned in [their]own language. This tribe will not be reached by Christian radio in Portuguese."

Aruak: "It's effectiveness at this point is compromised by lack of understanding of [the] national language. On the other hand, as believers become more committed, it can be expected to become more influential. Formerly a very provincial people (their own little world only) they are broadening their horizons."

Tupi-Guarani: "Radio, besides being an example, is just not really a tradition among [these people]. Programming is in Portuguese, which not all families know."

Macro-Gê: "For the most part they depend on SW and therefore, besides the national and secular stations, they can potentially receive TWR and possibly HCJB, though the latter lean more to the south of Brazil. "

Arawá: "I don't think that the believers see the radio as a source of spiritual food. They enjoy it and occasionally comment on something (sometimes to clarify what was not understood). I would say that it has a low key positive effect."

Yanomami: "The typical 'multiply yourself' has an argument that is considerably limited, unless pre-dialed non-battery powered S.W. radio units were available."

Tupi-Guarani: "This tribe is highly monolingual and so this survey is not relevant. The people do not know enough Portuguese to understand any theological message."

Macro-Gê: "I would suggest a simplified Portuguese format for learners of Portuguese. Slower speaking and very simple preaching (especially in terms of vocabulary) i.e. lots of redundancy in everything—message, music etc. because their main learning tool is repetition, imitation, so that familiarity of content would help them. This tribe, however, has sophisticated communicators in their own language—and frequently use radio

communication between villages. (Government network) If/when there is a solid body of believers—they could set up their own evangelistic programs—I think this might have a lot of potential. I would like a communications scholar to tell the layperson how to go about facilitating such a thing."

(Isolated): "There is none, and if there was in Portuguese, it would not have a whole lot of impact because of the language barrier. Evangelical radio in the tribal language would be many years from reality at this point—no electricity, etc."

(Isolated): "Programs of Scripture reading in this language would probably be popular among all the villages. Radios are becoming more and more common."

Tupi-Guarani: "Much more can be done, but to be effective it must be done in vernacular."

Kadiweu: "They like to do things as a group—radio listening tends to be more individualistic. An exception—one young man made a special trip to town to see one the preachers he had heard on the radio."

(Isolated): "Radio doesn't exist for these people."

Tupi-Guarani: "Music has the greatest effect. Guitar, accordion, vocal. Lots of repetition of doctrine or message in the same song agrees indoctrination practices and is more easily understood and accepted. Scripture in song, with repetition is very popular. Talking should be slow and with unspecialized vocabulary. Faith and grace are meaningless terms that cannot be spelled out and understood."

Aruak: "Probably a group as small as this would never have programming in its language, however, I'm sure a cassette ministry would be well accepted."

Aruak: "Since they are so scattered what really is known about the overall effect is unknown in specific terms. But many are being acculturated into Brazilian culture and the patterns of interior life are being somewhat assimilated. I would say that where there are radios and batteries most listen to very early morning programs and evening programs. Local news at noon."

Xokleng: "I am not sure because I have never really looked into it. They tend to listen to non-Christian radio, but there are some church programs. I am not sure what days they are on or for how many hours."

Macro-Gê: "Brazilian broadcasts of 75% or more music, of the traditional Brazilian "country western" type are or could be relevant. For the young people, also more modern Brazilian (rock) music. Almost everyone listens to music only."

(Isolated): "At present it has no chance."

Jamamaji: "Because the Jamamaji are relatively few it would probably be unfeasible to broadcast in their language. The only place that radio can help them at present is through good uplifting music and even this is quite limited because of the language."

Tupi-Guarani: "They love to listen to scripture tapes and evangelical music (also on tape). Radio programming in Tupi-Guarani might be very worthwhile, if it could be done. A people may profit from programs in Portuguese, which are available. As more people turn to the Lord, more might be willing to share their radios and use them to listen to evangelical programs."

Karib: "The significance of religious radio could increase dramatically with increasing influence of modernity—(literacy, schools, trade and travel, medical etc) and if accompanied by something tangible like a booklet or pencil for a letter. I feel there must be some kind of adaptation of the presentation via mass media to the small ethnic groups until they arrive at a sufficient level of assimilation to benefit from the form in the national language. I would like to mention also that in some tribes the level of integration is much higher than others. One example has rural power in many of their homes, schools, and churches, and there is even an FM radio station owned and operated by a local Indian broadcasting music and messages to over 5,000 Indians all day long. Maybe some input from the tribes would increase receptivity of the programs."